

THE TRUE
FOUNDATION
Polit. Pamph' o f vol 90.
Obedience and Submission
TO
His Present MAJESTY
King *G E O R G E,*
Stated and Confirm'd;

AND THE
Late Happy REVOLUTION Vindicated
from the Black and Odious Colours by
some cast upon it.

IN AN
Epistle to his *Parishioners*, especially the *Free-holders*, and those of the County of *Kent*:
Written for their Direction in the next
Election of their *Representatives* in *Parliament*.

By THEOPHILUS DORRINGTON, M. A.
Rector of *Wittreham in Kent.*

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Опаванія від

Ніжинським монахом

Кінде Г. Д. О. А.

Етическій Енциклопедії

ЗАНДА

Імперії Бахромоніонії
Відповідь на пропозицію
Імператора Іоанна Павла II

заснованої відповідно

І



Андрій Іванович Савченко

Бібліотека Національної

TO THE
INHABITANTS,
Especially the
FREEHOLDERS
OF THE
Parish of WITTRESHAM,
And of the
County of KENT.



HEN the Apostle St. Paul gives this Direction and Order to *Titus*, That he should put the Christians in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, and to be ready to every good Work: He does herein give Rule and Command to all succeeding Ministers and Teachers of Christian Religion thro' all Ages in the Christian Church. As he had himself, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, given this Charge to the Christians, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*, and therein made it known that this is a law and Obligation of the Christian Religion: He signifies in this his Order to *Titus*, that this Head of Morality ought to be very particular, and fre-

quently insisted on and inculcated among Christians. And what the Law of Christ, the Doctrine of the Gospel, requires of Christians, the Ministers of Religion must, at their Peril, diligently inform them of, and urge them to observe it. This is Part of their Commission, and the Charge laid upon them by our Lord himself, *That they teach his Disciples all things whatsoever he has commanded them.*

It is undoubtedly the Design of Christian Religion to restore the Moral Vertues among Mankind; and we may be sure this Head of Morality is requir'd among the rest, and deserves especially to be inculcated, inasmuch as 'tis of great Importance, Use, and Necessity to the Enforcement of all the other Vertues, in our Behaviour towards God and our Neighbours. It is evident by the Experience of the World, that *Liberty* in Opposition to Government, and the Neglect of all other Vertues abound together; and steady and effectual Government, and due Obedience to it, is proportionably attended with Justice, Honesty, Service of the Publick in our Places, and Regularity in all other Instances of our Duty. And, as it cannot but be known, that there is a great Decay and Neglect of good Morals among all the several Denominations of Christians, so there are the wicked Teachers of Liberty and licentious Principles in our Times, even in the Christian Church. And this Head of Morality in particular, many teach Men to neglect and despise, *who shall therefore be call'd least in the Kingdom of Heaven.* From the vile Sect of the Jesuite in the Church of *Rome*, are Principles spread among us, destructive of the due Obedience to the Secular Authority at least, those whom the Apostle means by the *Higher Powers*, and entertain'd by those among us who separate themselves from the Church of *England* by their Principles, and tho-

who disparage their pretended Adherence to it by their licentious Lives.

It is upon this Ground that I have diligently (as the Necessity of our Time every where requires) stated and urg'd the Duties of Subjects to *Higher Powers*, in Discoursing on the Fifth Commandment, where the Moral Law contains and enjoins these Duties. And I have also frequently insisted on the same Subject at the Returns of those Anniversary Commemorations appointed by our Church, on which we are with good Reason directed and requir'd by the Government, whom we ought to obey, particularly and especially to teach and urge these Duties: As on the Day of the happy Discovery of the *Gun-Powder-Treason*, and the Day of the horrid and execrable Murder of King *Charles I.* On which Days the rebellious Principles of the *Jesuites* among us attempted the Destruction of one, and effected the Murder of another of our Excellent Princes. And in obeying thus my Superiors according to Canon and Law, I have practis'd that Legal Submission and Obedience myself, which I owe, and which I desire and endeavour to teach and induce you of my Parochial Cure, and Country to perform. And as I ought to do, I have led and gone before you in it by my own Example.

And since I do this, as believing it my Duty laid upon me by the Law of Christ, and the Government I am under, there can be no Reason why any should be exasperated, or angry with me for the doing it. Especially, can none have any Right to this, who either justify and applaud that Moderation in the Government, which allows a Liberty of Conscience to others; or they who make use of it themselves. I claim herein, and pretend to, but a common Share in the Mercy and Indulgence of the Govern-

Government; to be allow'd to do what I am certain is my Duty. And as no Government can with any Reason be offended at the diligent and earnest inculcating the Duties of the Subjects; so no Subjects that understand themselves, and their own Interest as well as Duty, can be offended at it. For certainly Government and Obedience are the natural Foundation of Happiness to any People, and Liberty the Source of Confusion, Dissolution and Calamity. The Teaching this Morality can be displeasing to none, but such unreasonable and wicked Men, as are never willing to allow to any others the *Liberty of their own Actions*, which they themselves affect to take, and pretend a *Natural Right* to, or the *Liberty of Conscience* which they pretend to as their *Christian Right*; and which both allow, without Measure, to all of their own Faction, to whom 'tis no Offence to teach Doctrines that sap the Foundation of Government, to maintain Principles that lessen the Reverence, and enervate the Authority and Force of it, and which tend to render it impracticable, precarious, and even contemptible; but a great one to assert its Divine Original, its Supremacy; to assert it above the Controul of the Subject; to urge the just Principles that tend to give it the due Force and Effect, and a just Reverence and Esteem among Men. With whom this is a High Crime and Misdemeanor, as tending, they say, to make Men Slaves; but the former very Meritorious of Reward, as vindicating the *Original Liberty* of Mankind.

In Defiance of these wicked Men, *Whether they will bear, or whether they will forbear, for they are most rebellious*, since I have the Law and the Gospel, God and the Government requiring this, I shall, by the Grace of God, still go on to direct and urge Obedience to the Higher Powers in my Place

and

and Station, as much as I think necessary, tho' I be *Infant in Season, and out of Season* in the doing it: And I shall, upon all just Occasions, publickly own the doing this in Contempt of the vile Aspersions which these Men commonly cast upon it, and the Persecutions which the Republican Faction have been wont to raise against the Clergy of the Church for the faithful Discharge of their Duty herein; whom they study to incommod by Laws prejudicial to their Quiet and Interest, and are ready to accuse and *impeach*, as meaning some other Person than the present Governor, whom we would urge by this Sort of Preaching to be subject to.

But that we may enforce the due Practice of Obedience and Submission in the Subject to the Powers that are over them, 'tis at all Times necessary, and therefore at present, to shew and satisfy them, that these Duties are owing to the Government they are under: And therefore I must endeavour in the present Case to set you right in your Principles concerning the present Governor; and to establish the just and sure Foundations of your Legal Submission to the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, who, by the Grace of God, is now become our Rightful Liege Lord, and King, and Governor.

For that the grand Enemy of the Religion, Peace and Happiness of Mankind has been able, by virtue of the Wickedness of some, and the Weakness of others, to spread false Principles among us, which tend to seduce Men from their Duty in the Case. They are Principles which, under the Pretence to advance Liberty, tend to weaken and overthrow all Government, and by Consequence this. And the worst of the Case is, that many who pretend to be mighty Zealous for the setting up the present Government, agree

gree in this, with those who are averse to it, to pretend that those Principles are the Foundation of the Right of the present Government: And so the one Sort can never be sure and certain Friends and Subjects, and Supporters to it, while the other are its certain Enemies. In this the two Factions of the *Republicans* and the *Jacobites* agree, and in this they differ from the Loyal Party; and while these Factions contend with one another, and with the Loyal Part of the Nation, they disturb our Peace, and divide us, and truly sap the Foundation of our present Settlement.

The Ground which both Factions build their Pretences upon, is the late Happy Revolution under King *James* the Second, consequent to which is the present Government; which Revolution they both alike perversly interpret, and pretend it cannot be justify'd, but upon the vile Republican Principles; and so they do truly both of them cast black and odious Colours upon that Revolution, which we have so often, and with so much Reason, given Thanks for. These wicked Principles then, and this Error, are the Source and Spring of all our Divisions, Contentions and Disorders: And there is nothing can conduce so much to render us quiet and settled, and duly obedient under the present Government, and unanimous in the Desire and Endeavour to support and maintain it, as to get this Error out of the Minds of Men, and to condemn and disparage, in the most Authentick Manner, and by the Legislative Power, the rebellious Principles, which from the *Jesuites* are spread amongst our *Dissenters* from the Establish'd Religion, and have in a Manner infected the whole Body of them, and from them, under the Colour of Moderation towards them, have insinuated themselves into some in the Church.

It

It is the Design of this Epistle, to oppose this Error, and these pernicious Principles: Which I shall endeavour, by a just Representation of the Revolution, and a true View of the English Constitution; and by representing, in some Measure, the Falseness, Wickedness, and pernicious Nature and Influence of the Republican Principles, in proper Places as I go on.

In the first Place then, you must know and observe, that our Royal Family is a Part of these Nations, as truly as any other Family of them. And this Family must be allow'd to be on equal Terms, surely, at least, with every other Family amongst us in this respect, that *this* must have their Legal and Hereditary Rights, as well as every other Family. Will any say, that the Law and Constitution of these Kingdoms gives Rights to all others, and none to them? If the Descendents of the Royal Family have no Hereditary Rights by the Law and Constitution, then no other Family have such Rights belonging to them; for there can be no Reason of a Difference assign'd in the Case. And to assert this, is to dissolve the Society, to give every Man leave to catch from his Neighbour what he can: And if there be such *Liberty*, there is no *Property* among us: If that Family has no Hereditary Rights, your own has none, and your Children may, without Wrong, upon your Demise, that is, upon a Vacancy, be depriv'd of Succession to your Rights, by the arbitrary Will and Vote of their Neighbours.

In the next Place, it must be own'd, that 'tis the *just, indubitable Legal Right of this Family, to have the Rule and Government of these Nations, or to possess in their proper Turns the Crowns and Regal Dignity of these Kingdoms, with the Authorities and Prerogatives thereto belonging.* All that are undoubtedly of the Royal Family have this Right by their Birth in the

same manner, as those descended of other Families have a Right and Claim to the Titles, Dignities, Estates, Privileges belonging to that Family. And these Things among us belong to Families; may descend to the Descendents of the Families, and are not confin'd only to the single Persons that possess them. There is this Difference among us (to make the Matter the more plain) between Civil and Ecclesiastical Dignities and Estates. The Son of a Lord may be a Lord, but the Son of a Bishop has no Right, as such, to be a Bishop. And the Son of the King has Right in his Turn to be King: Upon this Account, is the Family call'd and spoke of under the Style and Title of the *Royal or Regal Family*. We are taught accordingly with Justice and Reason to acknowledge to God, that He restor'd to us, and to his own *just and undoubted Rights*, our most *Gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second*, and plac'd him in the Throne of this Kingdom: This was his *just and indubitable Right, the Throne or Government of these Kingdoms*: And this owns, as we ought to do, that the Rule and Government of these Kingdoms, is the *just Hereditary Right of the Royal Family*: As 'tis the Right of a Family, 'tis their *Hereditary Right*, 'tis that which they are born to, 'tis their *Birth-right*. Therefore that Fundamental Principle of the Republican Faction was justly condemn'd as false and wicked, by one of the Sources of Learning, Good-Manners, and Piety among us, I mean the ever Loyal University of Oxford, that *Birth-right and Proximity of Blood gives no Title to Rule and Government*. This Right may belong to a Family in a Society actually form'd and fram'd into Order, and under *Government*, and does belong to the Royal Family amongst us. You must then defy and despise

spise all that this rebellious Faction would infuse into you concerning the People's Right to choose or make their Kings, and the People's being the Original of Authority and Power. All this, be it true or false, is not pertinent to our Case, ought not to have any Regard with us, or Influence upon us; because the Authority and Power of the Crown, or Government over us, is finally settled; and by the *Law and Constitution* *estd'g'd in the Royal Family*, and cannot legally be diverted from it by any Vote or Choice of the People. How Government at first began, we need not trouble ourselves to enquire or determine, and therefore we have Reason to despise the Disputes about this, which are rais'd by the Enemies of Government, as tending only to unsettle us, and divert us from our Duty, and lessen the due Awe and Reverence of Authority and Government. *We are bound to acknowledge a Right to Rule and Government over us in the Royal Family.*

This Principle, that Birth-right and Proximity of Blood gives no Title to Rule and Government, changes our Hereditary Monarchy into an Elective one; and puts it into the Right and Power of the People, upon a Vacancy in the Throne, to choose whom they please to govern them; gives them Leave to ext all the Royal Family, and set up whom they will beside; yea, it allows them to choose whether they will set up any King or not, and whether they will give the Rights of the Crown to any Person, or share them among themselves. And if the Nation would be generally persuaded to receive this Republican Principle, we should inevitably find ourselves in a miserable Condition by the malignant Influence of it. We should certainly be divided upon every Vacancy, about the Per-

son to be chosen, and this Division would in like-
lihood always proceed to War and Bloodshed. If
the Question, whose Right it was to succeed to the
Crown between the two Houses of York and *Lan-*
caster, cost the Nation a great deal of Blood, 'tis
reasonably to be fear'd we should upon every Va-
cancy be in the same bloody Contention about the
Person to be elected and chosen to be King. If it be
the Interest of any Nation to have the Right of Suc-
cession to their Government ascertain'd and indi-
bitable, 'tis certainly our Interest to have this
Right settled and own'd among us, and must be
dangerous to believe that no one has this Right.
While such Contention lasts, the Nation must suf-
fer the Miseries and Calamities of War, and of a
Civil, Intestine War, which is the most mischievous
of any: And so long there would be no Autho-
rity, no Government exercis'd, and the wretched
Nation would want all the Benefit of Laws and
Government; there would be no legal, regular Re-
straint of any Wickedness, but an universal Li-
cence to do Mischief would tyrannize every where.
And such Contention must naturally determine ei-
ther in the Overthrow and Oppression of one of
the contending Parties, or in the remaining Divi-
sion of the Nation under several Princes and Go-
vernors.

And there is yet another pernicious Consequence
to be fear'd, if the Nation should generally fall
into the Madness of this Faction, and reject the
Royal Family, as having no Hereditary Right to the
Crown; and that is, that the Mighty Princes of
Europe, to whom our *Royal-Family* are allied, would
concern themselves to recover the Rights of the
Family to them, from their rebellious Subjects
and either combine and agree to set up some one
Person of the Family over us, or contend about
several

several Persons whom they would set up. It were impossible in this Case, but these Nations would suffer by these Contentions; we should be look'd upon, and treated as Enemies by both, without joining with one or other: Our Country would be the chief Seat of the Contention, and suffer the woful Calamities of War during the Contention. We may hope they can never *unite or agree to alienate the Crown from the Undoubted Descendents of the Royal Family*, but we may fear they would *unite and agree, in such a Case, to set up some Prince who is Undoubtedly of the Family.* And if they could agree in the Person they would set over us, when we should have rejected them all, as these Men would do, we could not defend ourselves against them with all the Aid we could obtain from other Alliances. And if a Prince should be impos'd upon us by any Foreign Power, both that Prince and the People too would be subject to the Controul of that Power, and we must pay them dear, who should set a Prince over us, for all that they should do in order to it.

Besides, if we consider the Nature of an Elective Monarchy, we shall understand it cannot be so well fram'd and compos'd as our Hereditary one, nor so happy and convenient either to Prince or People. The Prince whom the People should make and set up by their Vote and Election would be depending on the Humour of the People, as well in the Exercise of his Authority, as he does in the Possession of it; the People will be pleas'd, or he shall not govern; and a Multitude that will be pleas'd are hard to please, are fickle in their Likings and Dislikings; commonly judge of the Honesty, or Wisdom of Designs by Events, and are eager at first upon Designs, but soon cool with any Difficulties they meet with, and lose all their Endeavour

vour and Cost for want of Perseverance. The Government in such Case must be weak, uneasy, and precarious ; and all the Benefits of Government defective, and uncertain : For the Obedience of the People would be Humoursome, Arbitrary, and Uncertain. If the elected Prince has Power effectually and certainly to govern, it must be by Force, and that will give him Advantage to govern arbitrarily. So that in such a State, either there would be no good Security to the Prince of a due Obedience and Submission from the People, or no Security to the People of a due and legal Government from the Prince. And certainly, if we should change our well regulated Hereditary Monarchy for such an Elective one, as must be Arbitrary, either on the Side of the Prince or the People, we should become the Scorn and Contempt of all the World. 'Tis then not only Justice and Equity, and our Duty as it is so, that we be steadfast on this Point, that the *Royal Family* have an Hereditary Right to the Crowns of these Kingdoms, but is also our common Interest too. And we may justly look upon those Men as Enemies to their Country's Peace and Happiness, who assert, and would persuade others to believe the contrary.

In the next Place, you must know and own, that this Family have at least an equal Power and Right in controulung and ordering the Successions of the Branches and Descendents of the Family to the Possession of the Rights belonging to it, with any other Family of the Nation ; so as that this cannot be done, by any others, without the Consent of the present Possessor of those Rights ; and that Possessor a Descendent of the Royal Family. For tho' the Succession in other Families may be over-rul'd and controul'd by Act
of

of Parliament, this is not done without the Consent of the Possessor, and he of the Family, which Consent is given by him in Person, or by his Proxy in the House of Lords, or by his Representative in the House of Commons. So the Successions in the Families of the Lords are controul'd and order'd by their Consent included in the Determination of the House of Lords. The Successions in the Families of the Commons are controul'd and order'd by the Consent of every Commoner included in the Determination of the House of Commons. And the Lords cannot legally or rightfully dispose or controul the Rights and Successions of the Commons without the Consent of the Commons, nor the Commons those of the Lords without the Consent of the Lords. The Prince cannot dispose or controul the Rights and Successions of the Families of Lords or Commons without their Consent; neither can Lords or Commons dispose of, or controul the Rights and Succession in the Royal Family, without the Consent of the Prince given by him, in Person, or by his Commission, in Parliament. But the Law and Constitution of our Monarchy is such, *That the King or Queen of these Realms, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, can of Right dispose of and controul the Rights, and Successions to those Rights, in the Royal Family, and any Family of the Lord's and Commons.* And all this means no more than this, that the Law is the Rule and Measure of all Rights, and directs the Disposal of them, and the Successions to them in all the Families of our well-form'd Government. It is therefore false to say, *'tis not lawful to preclude the Succession of the next Lineal Heir to the Crown,* if it be understood, that *'tis not lawful for the King or Queen of the*

the Royal Family, who are in actual Possession of the Crown and Administration of the Government, to do it in the Establish'd Way of making Laws among us. And 'tis *true*, if it be understood, that 'tis not lawful for the Prince alone to do this, or for the Lords alone, or Commons alone to do it, or for the whole People under the Denomination of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament without the Consent of the King to do it: Much less may the whole People by any seditious tumultuous Vote over-rule and order such Succession, and not assembled in Parliament: For they have no Authority or Right to order any the smallest Matter but as assembled in Parliament, and then, too, only with the Concurrence and Consent of the Prince. Without the Authority and Consent of the Prince this cannot be done, as without this no Law whatever can be made, that shall rightfully determine any of us, or establish Right or Property among us. Since then the meanest Family in the Kingdom have a Right to controul and dispose of their Rights, and Succession to their Rights, in this Way, surely this Family must be allow'd to have a just and rightful Claim to the same Privilege.

You may observe then, that there are two Ways of Succession to the Rights and Dignities of the Royal Family, by which the Descendents of it may rightfully and lawfully come to be possedd of them in case of the Vacancy of a Posseſſor. The one we may call the *Ordinary Way*, which is, when the next in Blood in a Lineal Descent succeeds to the Possession of those Rights: And this is establish'd by Law for this Family (as the ordinary Course) as well as for other Families of the Nation; and is Rightful as Establish'd

blis'h'd by Law. The other Way of Succession, which may be call'd an *Extraordinary* one, is when the next in Blood is, for some weighty Considerations regarding the Common Interest, set by, and the Succession is establish'd and settled upon another of the Family by the Law of the Land : That is, by the Will and Order of the Prince made into a Law, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: In which Way the Succession to the Rights of any other Family may legally, and according to our Law and Constitution, be over-rul'd and diverted from the next in Blood in a Lineal Descent. The former Way may be call'd a Lineal Succession to the Crown, or Succession by Hereditary Right. The latter may be call'd a Parliamentary Succession, or a Succession by a Parliamentary Right ; that is, a Right to possess, out of the ordinary Course given them by Act of Parliament. Which Right and Possession may, according to the Law and Constitution of *England*, be given to any Person, or be limited to any Branch of the Royal Family, as the Legislative Power shall think fitting.

But you must carefully observe, and distinctly understand, what is rightly meant by a *Parliamentary Succession* to the Crown, or a *Parliamentary Right* to the Possession of it ; for, by a false Notion of this Word *Parliament*, many are deceiv'd, and drawn unawares into the *Republican Principles* and Party. By a Parliament is to be understood, the King or Queen of this Realm joining and concurring with the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. The King is a Part of the Parliament, as that Word means the Legislative Power among us, and indeed a principal Part, as by whose Authority, Order, and Command, the Lords and Commons

mons are constituted Parts of the Parliament. The Republicans, by the Word Parliament, you must know, mean the Lords and Commons without the King or Queen, and this you may observe and learn by their speaking of *the Lords and Commons only*, as they usually do, under the Name of the Parliament. You must know, there is no Parliament can be, according to our Law and Constitution, without the King or Queen, by whose Authority, and Writ, and Command, the Lords and Commons are assembled in Parliament. Neither can there be any Act of Parliament Authoritative, and to be held as a Law, but what is fram'd and determin'd by the King or Queen Regent, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. You must understand then, that both they are in the wrong, who should call our Laws the *King's Laws*, meaning thereby the absolute Will and Command of the Governor, or that any Thing can be a Law of this Kingdom, which were impos'd by the absolute Will, and arbitrary Command of the Prince alone, or by and with the Advice and Consent of the Privy Council, or any other Person or Company of Persons without the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. And they also are in the wrong, who should call our Laws the *People's Laws*, and say, we are a *Free People, and govern'd only by our own Laws*, as the Republicans love to speak; meaning, that any Thing is, or can be, a Law according to the Law and Constitution of our Government, by the Will and Determination, tho' never so unanimous, of the Lords and Commons alone, tho' assembled in Parliament without the concurring Will, Order, Consent and Sanction of the King. Much less can any Thing be

be a binding Law which is voted, tho' it were by all the People both Lords and Commons, by all that could speak amongst us, out of Parliament. You must understand then, that a Parliamentary Right to the Possession of the Crown, is a Right establish'd by a King or Queen of these Realms, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

I come now to apply these certain and undeniable Truths concerning the Law and Constitution of our Government, to the Ends propos'd; which are, to enforce and confirm your due Obedience to the present Government, and to enable you to discern and distinguish the truly Loyal from the pretended only, and its real Friends from its disguis'd Enemies.

To which Purposes I must make it manifest, as I shall easily do, that the late Happy Revolution, which we have so often, and with so much Reason, given God Thanks for, and do still, for this among other Things, that by the Blessing of God, it secur'd and brought to pass, at length, the Succession of our Excellent Queen, Her late Majesty, to the Throne of Her Ancestors, and the happy Limitation of the Succession to the Crown, to the Descendents of the Royal Family, being Protestants. That this Revolution, I say, was agreeing with these Principles, and so with the Law and the Constitution, and upon that Ground was Just and Legal; and by Consequence, the present Government, and the Settlement of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line of the Royal Family, are Just and Legal also. It is necessary that these be justified for a Foundation of performing our due Obedience and Subjection to the *Higher Powers* we are under; and that these be made appear consonant and agreeing with our Law and

Constitution that they be justified, for they cannot be justified but upon this Ground.

And it is the more necessary to endeavour this, and to do it as clearly and distinctly as I can, for your Direction and Guidance in these dangerous Times : Because both the Factions which have been mention'd, cast, as has been said, *black and odious Colours*, and lay *vile Imputations and Reproaches upon that Revolution*; for they *both* charge it as proceeding upon the *Republican Principles*, which are certainly contrary to our Law and Constitution. By this Imputation the *Jacobites* would discourage and divert our Obedience to the present Government and Settlement, and root up the Foundation of these, and of our Duty to them; and the Imputation certainly tends to that Effect. Therefore, the *Republican Faction* too, do in this sap and undermine the Foundation of the present Government, and discourage and oppose our due Obedience and Subjection to it, whatever they pretend, and do themselves that which they most injuriously charge the Loyal Part of the Nation with. For they boldly reproach and charge the Loyal Clergy and Laity, as condemning and disparaging the Revolution, and as Enemies to that, which by the Providence of God was the Occasion and Instrument of so much Good to us, and as adverse to the Government and Settlement, because we condemn their vile and unjust Principles. As if those Things could not be justified, or own'd as Just and Legal, but upon their Principles, and must needs be condemn'd with them. And this is a Cheat they have lately made a mighty Effort and Endeavour to put upon the People. All know in what Juncture of the late Reign this was especially done. The Principles of this Faction, and which they would have it believ'd, are the *Foundation of the present Government,*

vernment, and our Duty, are, that the People have a natural Right to constitute Government, are the Original of Power, this is given by common Consent, and they may set up whom they please over them. They have Right to dispose of the Crown, and the Rights belonging to it, to whom they will ; and every, the meanest Family of the Nation beside, have their Hereditary Rights belonging to them, but the Royal Family has none. And as the People have Right to make their Kings, and set over them whom they please, so they have Right to controul him in his Government, to call him to Account, to constrain him to do as they please, or punish him, and depose him if he does not. And to that purpose, if he does not govern by the Laws they have laid upon him, (or for the People's Good, the Faction being his Judges) they may take up Arms of Resistance when they think it necessary, and fight against him ; they may appeal to Club-Law, and if they can prevail against him, may lawfully try, judge, sentence, and condemn him, if they think fit, as a Traytor to his People, and then murder him. These are their Principles, but certainly these tend to weaken and overthrow all Government, to render it precarious and uncertain, and the Obedience of the Subject arbitrary and humoursome ; and then they cannot be a firm and good Foundation of *any Government*, or of Obedience to it. And these Principles certainly contradict our Law and Constitution, and so cannot be a firm Foundation of *any Government among us*, therefore not of our *Present Government*.

I shall now make it appear to you, that the late Happy Revolution, the Present Government, and Settlement, are agreeing with, and founded upon our Law and Constitution, and so do not need to be justified from these Principles ; as, indeed,

deed, they cannot be justified from these Principles, because these Principles cannot be justified from the Law and Constitution of the Kingdom.

You must know then, that the unhappy King James II. giving himself up to the Influence and Conduct of Ill Men, his Own, and the Nation's Enemies, was led, encourag'd, and assisted by the *Jesuites* and *Dissenters*, and their perfidious Adherents, who all design'd to betray and ruin him, to defy the establish'd and ordinary Rules of Government in this Kingdom; to dispense with, and over-rule our Laws, according to which he ought to have govern'd; and so to make every Thing, secur'd to us by our Laws, our Religion, Liberties, Properties, and even our Lives, an uncertain and precarious Possession, and to assume and exercise an Arbitrary Authority and Power over all Things and Persons: In this Case, his *good Subjects*, with Reason and Justice, and as oblig'd by their Duty to God and their Neighbours, and not forbidden, or otherwise oblig'd by their Duty to their Prince, refus'd, and declin'd to serve, and assist, and maintain him in his Course and Practice of Government, which would be ruinous both to Himself and the Nation. And they patiently suffer'd illegal Severities, some of them, at least, on this Score; practising, as they ought to do, the Excellent Christian Doctrine, or Precept of *Passive Obedience*. And while the main Body of the Nation, the truly Loyal Party, led by the Example of truly Christian Bishops, and rightly taught by true *Ministers of the Gospel*, the Ministers of the Establish'd Religion, thus engag'd the Divine Providence to favour us; and, like *Israel*, stood still, and waited for it, they saw in due time the Salvation of God. For it pleased God, of his infinite Mercy to this Church and Nation, to stir up, and animate his

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Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the States-General of the United Provinces, to attempt our Deliverance ; who believing it their Interest to oppose King *James* in this Course of Government, the Prince came, assisted by the States, to divert him from it. And he came with an arm'd Force to defend himself in this his *Glorious Enterprize*, from the evil Counsellors of King *James*, and from the Papists whom that King had, as is said, illegally arm'd to defend him in the Prosecution of his Designs. When the deluded, and unfortunate Prince saw his good Subjects could not be persuaded to abandon and impose upon their Consciences, in Assisting and Maintaining him in his illegal Courses, and that he was invaded by a Foreign Force, which he was not able, without them, to secure himself from, nor to overcome, that he might go on in his Arbitrary Government, he forsook his Kingdoms.

We were then in a miserable Confusion, and in a terrible Danger, even upon the Brink of Ruin. The Bond of our Union was lost, we were without a Governor, without Government, without the ordinary Execution of Laws for the Defence of the Innocent, and Restraint and Punishment of Evil-Doers, and could not remain in that State long without inevitable Ruin. Then was the Prince of *Orange* very justly desir'd to take upon him the Administration of the Government for the present ; he being the only Person that it could possibly in that Exigence be devolv'd upon with any Hope of Advantage from it. And he was desir'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and by divers principal Persons of the Commons, to cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being Protestants, and other Letters to the several Countries, Cities, Universities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports,

for

for the choosing of such Persons to represent them, as were of Right to be sent to Parliament, in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws, and Liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which Letters, Elections were accordingly made: And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters and Elections, assembled in a full and free Representative of this Nation. Thus this Affair is express'd in that Act, known by the Name of the Bill of Rights, by vertue of which, the Faction would most fallaciously and unjustly found the Revolution, and the Consequences of it, upon the foremention'd False and Republican Principles.

In all this, there was no guilty or undutiful Resistance of King James by the Body of the Nation; nor was there any Contradiction, as it seems, of their Legal and Loyal Obedience and Submission which they ow'd him, and had by Oath oblig'd themselves to. If any of the Nation went beyond this, in acting in that Revolution, and Opposition to their King, or Combination against him, and let their Zeal carry them too far (as it seems to be intimated some did, in that an *Act of Indemnity* was thought necessary, and was pass'd for the Security of some from Legal Prosecutions and Punishment) these were, 'tis certain, but a very small Part of the Nation, and bore no considerable Proportion to the rest; who were so great a Body, and their Numbers so great, as to give terrible Apprehensions of a bloody Scene by their Opposition to these few; as one at that time very publickly confess'd. (Dr. Burnet's Sermon before the Prince of Orange.) But as the Body of the Nation did not oppose the Prince, and the Power that came to deliver them, so neither did they oppose their King, any farther than in faithful and dutiful Representations, Counsels, and

and Petitions, that he would be pleas'd not to persist in his illegal and mischievous Methods, and refusing to comply with him, and serve him in them. And tho' some of them, who knew themselves most obnoxious to the Malice and Mischiefs of the lawless Confederates of the King, did put themselves under the Safe-Guard of an arm'd Force, they fled like *David* and his Adherents with that Force from their King, they did not assault, or offer any Violence to him with it. It is therefore unjust and false to impute *Resistance* to the *Nation*, as that which brought about the *Happy Revolution*.

And as those who then did more than they ought, or are allow'd by the Laws, are indemnify'd for what they did contrary to the Laws, and their Duty, and the Crown and Dignity of the King, we shall not grudge them their Indemnity, nor endeavour to repeal it, if they can prove themselves worthy of it by a dutiful Behaviour to the Establish'd Government, and a peaceable one towards their Fellow-Subjects. We could with Charity, and a compassionate Allowance for the Strength of the Temptation, and the common Weakness of humane Nature, apply to their Case, in their Favour, the Expression of *Solomon*, which one preach'd upon in the City for an Excuse of their undutiful Behaviour in the latter End of King *Charles* the Second, and without doubt to the Encouragement of it, *Oppression makes a wise Man mad*. But if when the apprehended Oppression is over, and there is not the least Ground or Reason to fear any from the Supreme Power, the wise Man (as he may think himself) will take upon him to justify upon Principle what he did in his Madness; will pretend that was his *Wisdom* not his *Madness*; we shall think, with more Reason than he has on his Side, that he is not the wise Man, but remains the *mad Man or Phanatick*

still. We shall think he has a settled form'd Design to keep the Prince in awe by fomenting rebellious Principles, and encouraging rebellious Humours; to the end that he and his Faction may govern both Prince and People as they please. And we must needs think it necessary for the Publick Tranquillity and Peace, and that we may live quiet and safe in Godliness and Honesty, that all such be under some effectual Restraint of their Madness, that it may not do mischief. Especially, we must believe, after all the Banter and false Reasoning that has been put upon us for Argument, to allow such in the Magistracy by an Occasional Conformity to the Laws, that Authority in such is a Sword in a mad Man's Hand, from whence abundant Mischief must be expected both to Prince and People.

If they, not content with their Indemnity, will needs justify themselves, and maintain, recommend and propagate, all they can, the rebellious Principle of the People's Liberty or Duty to resist and rebel against the Governor, when they think the Government illegally or unduly manag'd, and perhaps only for the Restraint of their disorderly Spirits: Then all honest Men must needs think deserves the Censure and Treatment of High Crime and Misdemeanor from the Government; and all wise Men will believe it deserves the utmost Abhorrence and Opposition of the People. Inasmuch as this tends to sap the Foundation of any Government, to make it impossible, and impracticable to the Governor, and altogether unprofitable to the People; to weaken Authority, to encourage *humoursome and factious Arms of Resistance*, and to bring the Community into Confusion and Ruin. To assert the Measures of Submission to be but while the Prince is allow'd to govern for the People's Good only (See Hoadly's *Measures of Submission*) gives the People

People Commission to judge when the Prince governs for their Good ; and *Liberty of Conscience* to the Sects, and the pretended *Natural Right*, the *Liberty of their own Actions* to the Dissolute and Lascivious, to join together, when they can make a Party strong enough to controul the Governor, to rebell, and throw off Government, when it will offer to establish and enforce Religion, and bind Men to observe the Obligations of Religion towards God, and towards their Neighbours.

The Effect of this vile Principle, whenever it prevail'd, so far as to have Effect, was ever, and is therefore ever likely to be either Anarchy and Confusion, or arbitrary Government and Tyranny. It either surfeits the People with Liberty to hurt one another, or brings them into a wretched Slavery. If it does not quite overthrow Government, it renders it weak and precarious, and unsteady, not able to answer effectually the Ends, and produce the Benefits of Government, to be a *Terror to Evil-Doers, and a Praise to them that do well.* To prove him a Fool, that should ever propose to be the Head of a wild ungovernable Party, that could never endure any Head willingly, whose Principle and Nature is altogether Libertine, inconsistent with just Controul, and who always account even their most Rightful Prince to be but the common Servant of the People. If it does overthrow a just, regular and legal Government, and lets People after that come into any Order or Form at all, it necessarily subjects them to the most arbitrary, absolute, and irregular Tyrants : Whose Will is their Law, the Satisfaction of their Lusts their Reason of State ; who will rule the wretched Slaves with a Rod of Iron, that is, a drawn Sword ; and, at Pleasure, as they think they see Occasion, will cement the Foundation of their *Babel* with the Blood of the best of their Fellow-Subjects. To

prove those People Fools, who shall take the Liberty to throw off a Hereditary, Rightful, Legal Governor, to put themselves under the pretended Protection of a chosen Usurper.

As 'tis the Duty of Subjects to allow, defend, and maintain the just Supremacy, and Rights, Prerogatives and Authorities of the Crown, or the Person, Honour, and Dignity of the King (whom God long preserve, and prosper, and give him the Victory over all his Enemies:) So 'tis manifestly *our Interest* too. For we must needs, if we are not greatly mistaken, look upon the Dignity and Authority of the Prince, and the Efficacy of Government, as the firmest Bond of our Union, the necessary Foundation of our Tranquillity and Settlement, and our best Defence against the wild, irregular Lusts and Vices of our Fellow-Subjects. We have had Experience enough to teach Fools, that they who would have and maintain a Liberty to resist their Prince when they please, are the greatest Tyrants themselves, and the most arbitrary and illegal Governors when they are in Authority, and have Power over their Fellow-Subjects, than ever we were under: And have learnt from their constant Practice to fear Oppression and Slavery more from them, than from the Crown, or any Prince of the Royal Family being Protestant, possessing all the just Rights and full Authority of the Crown. From none of which, the Nation ever suffer'd so much, not even from the worst of them, as it has done from the Seditions, Rebellions, and Government of these Men; whose little Fingers we have found heavier than any Prince's Loins, and who have, by the just Judgment of God (indeed for Contempt of Authority, and Affectation of Liberty) chang'd their Whips into Scorpions to chastise us. The most blamable Actions of our Princes in Government are more capable of Apology and Justification, than their

their Rebellions or Government: And, I doubt not, but if the Matter were fairly and impartially examin'd, and rightly represented, it would appear to the common Sense and Reason of Mankind, that what they are so forward and lavish in blaming any of our Princes for, was too often necessarily endeavour'd and done upon the Provocation of their undutiful Behaviour, and to maintain the Government and Constitution, the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and its Power to reward good Men, and duly punish the bad, against their rude Encroachments upon the Power of the Crown, and to oppose and prevent their ambitious and licentious Designs, tending to Confusion, and the Common Ruin. It cannot indeed be expected by any but Fools, that they who would lessen the Authority and Power of the Prince, and controul the Supreme Power, will not, if they can get Power themselves, prey, at Liberty, upon the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects. They may draw weak, unthinking People to their Faction, by Pretence to maintain and advance the *Original Liberty of Mankind* (as a mercenary Scribbler of theirs speaks, (*in the Memoirs of the House of C-----*) who has recommended himself to them, by speaking *Evil of Dignities*, and *aspersing the Memory of our Princes.*) But all that are wise and considerate observe by their Practice, as they can get Power, that they mean by their *Original Liberty*, the Liberty of the Wilderness: Where the Greater and Stronger Beasts, and those Good for nothing, prey upon the Weaker and the Better. They mean a *Liberty to themselves*, such as the Prophet denounces against, when he says, *Wo to him that buildeth his House by Unrighteousness, and his Chambers by Wrong: That useth his Neighbour's Service without Wages, and giveth him not for his Work.* The Liberty to take their Neighbour's Goods as they please, to use his Labour and Service, but pay no Debts to those inferior

ferior to them ; which in Truth, is but another Way of Plunder and Violence, *a Ravaging the Families of their Fellow-Subjects.* Certainly such a Man is a terrible Tyrant, tho' he may pretend to hate Tyrants. They mean a Liberty to *impeach* us without a Crime, to punish us when they please, without the Transgression of any Law. And what Prince was ever more arbitrary or illegal in his Government ? They would have Liberty to roast us, and kindle again the *Smithfield Fires* upon us, as the *Papists* once did it, if we will maintain the Religion Establish'd against their licentious Principles, and to the just Censure of their wicked Practices. They mean a Liberty to controul the Prince, and oppress the Subject at Pleasure. The Prince must command and rule according to Law, and encourage and preferr those that govern themselves according to the Laws, and none else, without incurring their rude, seditious Clamours and Reproaches ; but they will be obey'd without either Canon or Law, and will preferr and encourage none, but such as will so serve and comply with them, yea, and encourage and countenance the Sects to persecute and incommode them who will not do so. Their Inferiors must recognize the Supremacy of the Prince, in Submission to them, when they please to make use of it ; but they will not acknowledge, or yield it themselves, when it would most justly be exercis'd against their Principles and Designs. They mean to advance their own Liberty, but to allow none, either to the Prince or the People. The Higher Powers must be irresistible if *they* can be the Higher Powers : Or the Supreme Authority may be resisted in the Hands of the Prince, but not in theirs, when they can have a Share of it. The Supreme Authority may be resisted, but not the subordinate one ; or it may be resisted in the Fountain, but not in the Derivation or Stream.

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This is their Justice, and Polity. This is, indeed, the Cheat they appear to endeavour to put upon us ; but certainly they may expect to be oppos'd, and ought to be so, by all that discover the Cheat. If the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* be at all *damnable*, it must be so in the Application of it to this Case. And they have no Right (by their own Principle) to condemn us, if we resist them as far as we may, consistently with our Duty to the Prince, and the Peace and due Order of the Nation, and the Justice and Charity of Christian Religion ; if we resist them in Defence of the just Rights and Authority of the King, and the legal Rights and Liberties of the People of all Sorts. We cannot think it safe for us, or be willing, if we can fairly avoid it (and they must pardon us in it) to be under the Power and Authority of those whose Loyalty is Rebellion, their Mercies Cruelty, their Liberty Oppression, and their Moderation Popish Fury and Persecution. Certainly, they who think it their Right to depose their Prince for what they will account Mal-Administration, ought to allow the Prince Authority to depose any of his Ministers, whom he accounts guilty of Mal-Administration. If the Prince may be call'd to Account, may not his Ministers ? And they must allow us, when we have the Prince's Leave, to depose them from the Authority and Honour of Representing us in Parliament, when we think they have been guilty of Mal-Administration therein. And moreover, they must own they are beholden to our Just, Legal, Christian Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* to the Higher Powers, rather than to their own Rebellious and Licentious one of the Liberty or Duty of Resisting. If, when we think they have us'd us ill in Parliament, and have advis'd and consented to the making of Laws that are not for the People's Good, we do not chastise them for it, by their own Club-

Club-Law, when they return Home to us. Let it be consider'd by themselves, what a miserable Confusion their Principle of Resistance for Mal-Administration would make, if it should be freely exercis'd thus far, as, without doubt, 'tis Just it should be so, if it be just to exercise it against the King.

But, because we would rather convert and cure them of their Wickedness and Madness, than do them any Harm (as we would not that they should have Authority and Power to hurt us) we will wish them to consider, that their *Original Liberty* inferrs an *Equality* of Mankind too; 'tis a Leveling Principle, and would destroy all Distinction and Difference among Mankind, as well as Order and Government; would equal the Duke and the Drayman, as well as the King and the Cobbler. If they would but think a little soberly on the Matter, and suppose their Principles might be practis'd upon themselves, by others, they would learn to abhor them themselves. If a witty Duke, a proud Patron of their *Original Liberty* should by the Restoration of it in its full Extent and Exercise, be forc'd to exchange his stately Palace, the Monument of his Pride, Oppression, Tyranny, and Prodigality, for a Cobbler's-Stall, he would soon be put out of Conceit with his *Original Liberty*. And if he had any Capacity left him of sober and rational Thinking, it would bring him to think with us, that 'tis better for the World, both for Prince and People, for the Governors and the Governed, that Men should esteem, entertain, and practise the dull Wisdom of Complying with Order, and Government, and Reverence, and Obedience to Governours, than affect and practise the rude, wild, and witty Licentiousness of these Mad-men, or pretend to their fan-sied *Original Liberty*. The People are certainly fool'd, when they are made to believe that such Men are Patrons of Liberty. They are Patrons only

only of their own Liberty to oppress at Pleasure their Fellow-Subjects, to defy Laws, live without Controul of a superiour Power, and to resist when they please their Prince. And it must be known, that it was such Liberty as they affect, and such Liberties as they, who ruin'd the *Roman Commonwealth*. They ruin'd the true and just Liberty of the whole, brought in first Factions, and Contentions, and Divisions, and Civil-Wars, and then the Arbitrary Government of the Sword; and the Consequence at length of their Liberty was the Dissolution of the Commonwealth, and the Overthrow of their vast and mighty Empire. The great Men of *Rome* became too great, and with it too proud to be duly subject to the Controul of One superiour Power, and the legal, supreme Authority; and it was for want of a King that this Liberty destroy'd their Commonwealth. It is certain, that he of the two haughty *Romans*, that concurr'd to alter their Constitution, was as proud and as guilty, in that he would not endure an Equal, as he that would not endure a Superior: And he that would not endure an Equal, would much less endure a Superior. They would neither of them be subject, and this Spirit of theirs prevailing in the Commonwealth, threw down the Consulate. And tho' *Rome* was grown so Great, that no other Power on Earth could destroy it, and it was long e'er it could destroy itself, yet 'tis plain that Liberty did this at last; and weaken'd it to such a Degree, when a supreme Power and Controul was wanting, by intestine Contentions, and Civil-Wars, that the most barbarous Nations, unskill'd in War, at length over-ran and conquer'd it. This proves the *Roman Tutor* mistaken in his Heathenish Politicks, and that Pride and Licentiousness, and he befoold the *English Scholar*, who learn'd and imbib'd the Notions and Spirit of *Tacitus*. And he had liv'd with more Honour,

nour, and died with more Comfort, if he had learnt the meek and obedient Notions of the Christian Religion, and imbib'd the Spirit of its obedient and glorious Author.

Thus much it was necessary to say, in our way to set you right in your Opinion of these Men.

I shall now go on in the just Representation of the late Revolution, that you may see it needs no the Principles of these Men to justify it, and that the present Settlement does not depend on so fand a Foundation, on which certainly no Settlement, no Government can be built strong and secure.

In the next Place then, you must understand that the Nation, under the Denomination of Lords and Commons, did not take upon them to depose the King, or abdicate him, as this Faction love to speak the Matter, and endeavour to insinuate into the Minds of the common People: But he abdicated his People, and the Government of them, and abandon'd his Crown and his People, rather than he would be induc'd, or persuaded to govern them according to Law, and the Constitution of the Kingdom. The Convention, 'tis said in that Bill did declare and assert several *Rights of the Subjects*, but in all the Declaration there made, there is no the least Expression or Intimation, that 'tis the Right of the Subject to elect and choose whom they please for their King, or to resist him by Force or Arms of their Own, or Foreign Confederates, he does not govern them for their Good, or as they please. Or to depose him for what they judge an determine to be Mal-Administration. The Subjects, even thus conven'd and assembled, and being a full and free Representative of the Nation, were just to the Regal Power and Supremacy. And they were just to the Royal Family, and, in Agreement with the Law and Constitution, did not take upon them to dispose of the Rights of the Royal Family which

which, without the Consent of a Prince of the Family in Possession, they cannot do. And therefore, they did not so far assume a Power over those Rights, and that Family, as to depose their King from his Dominion, and take from him his Crown, and the Rights belonging to it. As, indeed, their Vote, unless made into a Law by the concurring Consent of King or Queen, with that of the Lords and Commons, cannot legally take away any of the Rights of the meanest Subject in Possession of his Rights, or give them to another that is related, or not related to him; so neither can their Vote *legally* do this to the Prince. This therefore we see that Convention did not pretend to do.

'Tis said indeed, by them, that the late King James the Second having abdicated the Government, the Throne was become vacant; and this was not hastily or rashly determin'd, but upon mature and deliberate Consideration.

Upon this, Her Royal Highness *Mary* Princess of *Orange*, eldest Daughter to Her Royal Father King *James* the Second, was desir'd, and persuaded by this Convention, to accept and take Possession of the Crown and Royal Dignity of these Kingdoms, and accordingly did accept and take Possession of the Throne of Her Ancestors, Her *indubitable Hereditary Right*. You must know, that this Convention, or the People under the Denomination of Lords and Commons, did not *confer a Right* to the Crown, or *confer the Crown upon Her Royal Highness*, as the Republicans have the Impudence to speak, and would have you believe. There is no Expression or Intimation of such a Thing in that Bill. They did not pretend to choose or make Her Queen, or to give Her the Royal Dignity and Authority over us. The Words concerning this Matter are, That the Lords and Commons assembled at *Westminster* ('tis not said *assembled in Parliament*,

for they were not yet a Parliament, nor could be so, without the Order or Consent of a King or Queen) do resolve, that William and Mary Prince and Princess of Orange be, and be declar'd King and Queen of England, &c. Where, to resolve that they be, must be understood to signify, according to the usual Phrase and Expression of Parliament, their Determination or Acknowledgment, that they were so; and in Connexion with what went before it, means, that the Princess became so, by reason of the Vacancy before-mention'd. Accordingly, 'tis said, *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.* Afterward 'tis said, by the same Convention (which became a Parliament by the Consent of Queen Mary when She accepted the Crown) that King James the Second having abdicated the Government, and their Majesties King William and Queen Mary having accepted the Crown and Royal Dignity, their Majesties did become, were and are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, in, and to whose Princely Persons, the Royal State, Crown, and Dignity of the said Realms, with all Honours, Styles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, Powers, Jurisdictions, and Authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most rightfully and entirely invested, united and annex'd.

Her Majesty Queen Mary was own'd as Lawful and Rightful Queen of these Realms, after this Her Acceptance of the Crown. But She could not be said to have a Parliamentary Right, or to be Queen by virtue of such Right, because there was no Parliament in being to make such Right: As a Parliament in being, that is, lawfully Call'd, Constituted, and Assembled, could not have done this without the Consent of a King or Queen actually posses'd of, and

and administering the Government. And before She accepted the Crown, and in the Vacancy of the Throne, there could not be the Consent of a King or Queen to the Vote of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. In a true Sense of the Word *Parliament*, there was then *none*: And therefore this Convention did not then take upon them the *Name or Style, or Authority of a Parliament*.

And you must observe, that if Her Majesty was not own'd, or held to be Rightful and Lawful Queen by the Convention, upon the Account of a Parliamentary Right, She was, and must be understood to have been own'd by them to have been so by Her Hereditary Right, as descended of the Royal Family, in Her Descent from Her Royal Father King *James* the Second. And so the full and free Representative of the Nation, in Effect, and by evident Intimation, condemn'd as false that Republican Position, *That Birth-right and Proximity of Blood gives no Title to Rule and Government*; and own'd Queen Mary to be Rightful and Lawful Queen by virtue of Her Hereditary Right.

When Her Royal Highness was thus own'd, and declar'd to be Queen, and had accepted the Crown and Government, we had then a Successor of the Royal Family in Possession of the Throne, and the Government could then be administer'd, and all Affairs transacted, in the ordinary, legal, and right-
ful Manner, and Laws could be made, and Rights and Successions legally controul'd and order'd for every Family of the Kingdom by Law; that is, by the Will and Order of the Queen and Governor, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. And whatso-
ever Authority and Power was then conferr'd upon Her Majesty's Consort, the Prince of *Orange*, by Her Consent and Order, together with the Advice and Consent of Lords and Commons assembled in
Parlia-

Parliament, was *legally conferr'd*, and so He also might be, as He became, Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms. By Her Majesty's Consent, when She had accepted the Crown, this *Convention* which had not been summon'd by Legal Writs of King or Queen in the Vacancy of the Throne, and so were not a *legal authoritative Parliament*, became a *Parliament*, and could, and did from thenceforth, by Her Majesty's Consent, in the just and legal Way, enact Laws. And you must know and observe, that the Convention did not take upon them the Name or Authority of a Parliament, or offer to make any Laws, till the Princess had accepted the Crown, and gave Her Consent, that they should be a Parliament, and thereby gave them Authority to act as a Parliament.

From thenceforth, Her Majesty's Consent and Concurrence being to it, as Her Majesty was Queen by Her Hereditary Right, Her Consort the Prince of *Orange* became, and was King by *Parliamentary Right*. And from thenceforth also could the Succession to the Crown be legally settled and limited as it was, even by King, Lords, and Commons assembled in Parliament.

And you must know, that the Succession of Her late Majesty Queen *Anne* to the Crown in the ordinary Way, and as next in Blood to Her Royal Sister Queen *Mary*, was, by a Settlement, made in Honour and Gratitude to King *William*, and doubtless with the Consent of Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Denmark*, suspended during the Life of King *William*, and while He surviv'd His Royal Consort Queen *Mary*. And upon the Death of King *William*, Her Majesty succeeded to the Throne of Her Ancestors, and justly reign'd, both in virtue of Her *Hereditary Right*, as next in Blood to Her Royal Sister Queen *Mary*; and also in virtue of the Settlement made by Act of Parliament under Her said Royal Sister,

Sister, which establish'd Her Succession after the Decease of King *William*. So that Her late Majesty's Right, you must hold, was both *Hereditary* and *Parliamentary*, as the Case stands with us, since the Revolution, and by virtue of the Revolution, and the Justice of that. She ought to have reign'd next after Her Royal Sister in the ordinary Way, and immediately upon Her Decease, by virtue of Her *Hereditary Right*, and therefore rightly reign'd after Her by that Right; and She reign'd also by *Parliamentary Right*, as Her Succession next to King *William* was establish'd by Act of Parliament under the Reign of Her Royal Sister. And so Her *Parliamentary Right*, to speak exactly, may be said to be founded upon the Revolution, and the Justice of that; but 'tis not true, to say Her Majesty's *Right* was founded upon the Revolution, because this implies, that She had no other but a *Parliamentary Right*, and had no *Hereditary Right*: This is the Meaning of those who said Her Right was founded upon the Revolution, the Republican Faction: Which is therefore false, because She had a Right, by Her Birth, to succeed to the Crown as next in Blood, and a Lineal Descent, to Her Royal Sister. And I desire you to observe, that if She had not an *Hereditary Right*, She could not be said to have had a *Parliamentary Right*, because if Her late Majesty Queen *Anne* had not an *Hereditary Right*, then neither had Her Royal Sister Queen *Mary* an *Hereditary Right*, and then Her Royal Sister could not by Act of Parliament constitute or establish for Her late Majesty a *Parliamentary Right*.

This must be own'd then against the Republican Principles, that *Her late Majesty had an Hereditary Right to the Crown, and is true*; unless it were true, that *Birth-right and Proximity of Blood gives no Title to Rule and Government*, according to the false Republican Principle. And it must be own'd too, or
Her

Her Royal Sister's Right to the Crown must be deny'd ; who could have no Right, if She had not an Hereditary Right, and could have no Hereditary Right, if Her late Majesty had no Hereditary Right, For the Princess of *Orange* could not become rightful Queen by a Parliamentary Right, because there was no Parliament, nor could be any in the Vacancy, to constitute such a Right. There was no Parliament, nor could be, nor as has been observ'd, did the Lords and Commons assembled at *Westminster* pretend to be a Parliament, till She had accepted the Crown, and by Her Will and Consent made that Assembly a Parliament. To give a Parliamentary Right, there must be the joint Consent of King or Queen together with that of Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. But then, if She could not be rightful Queen by Parliamentary Right, there was no other Way that She could be so, but by Her Hereditary Right, and She was so by virtue of Her Hereditary Right, and succeeded as next in Blood, and in a Lineal Descent after Her Royal Father King *James* the Second upon the Vacancy of the Throne. And if this were not so, there could no legal Act of Parliament be made by Her, nor could a Parliamentary Right be settled or given either to King *William* or Her late Majesty, because there could be no legal Parliament. If Her late Majesty then had no Hereditary Right, and did not succeed in virtue of that, Her Royal Sister had no Hereditary Right, and Her late Majesty could have no Parliamentary Right, because this must be given Her by virtue of Her Royal Sister's reigning by an Hereditary Right. You may therefore justly suspect those who deny'd Her Majesty's Hereditary Right, as meaning She had indeed no Right at all, and desirous that it should be thought so by all, and to have all Republicans as they are ; and to believe, that Her Majesty reign'd only by the Courtesy, and Gift, and Election of

of a Free People, who were under no other Obligation to be obedient to Her, but from their own Choice and Consent. They would have you believe, that Her Majesty had no Right to Rule, but rul'd only by the Grace and Favour of the People; which is as much as to say, That the Royal Family alone, of all the Families of the Nation, have no Hereditary Right belonging to them; which is false and absurd.

And here I may fitly caution you against an ill Sense of a Phrase much used by the Republican Party, without Doubt, in an ill Sense. They affect to speak of the People of England, as a free-born People; which if you understand, as meaning that we are born free from any Obligation to acknowledge a Government, and Governor over us, is false and wicked: For we are all born in a State of Subjection to the Higher Powers, we are ill born Subjects. Those of every other Family, are born Subjects to the Royal Family; and this the Name of a Royal, or Regal Family Implies, and without this it might be laid, we have no Regal or Royal Family. And thus is with all People in a State, or Nation that is actually form'd into Order, and under Government. The Descendents of the Royal Family are born Princes, and have a Right to succeed in their Turn in the legal Way to the Crown; and we are all born Subjects, bound to obedience by our Birth, and to Obedience to the Princes of the Royal, or Regal Family. We are Subjects before we take the Oath of Allegiance and Subjection, and are therefore bound to take such Oath, because we're Born Subjects. You must know then, that we are not to be call'd a Free-born People in any other Sense, than what is consistent with this State which we are certainly born under.

And I must desire you to observe, that the Act of Settlement which establish'd the Order of Succession in the Royal Family, and so constituted this Parliament's Right of Her late Majesty, does manifestly own a Hereditary Right in the Descendents of the Royal

Family, and settles the Succession to the Crown with a Regard and Deference to an Hereditary Right : In that it establishes, That the Heirs of the Body of the Princess *Anne of Denmark*, our late most Gracious Queen, should succeed to the Crown, previous to the Heirs of the Body of King *William*, if he should have had such Heirs by Marriage with any other Princess after the Death of his Royal Consort Queen *Mary*. And so it appears that the Convention, which became the first Parliament of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, had not receiv'd, nor did proceed upon these Republican Notions, which are now so impudently vented and maintain'd. And by Consequence, the Revolution and the Justice of it does not need, or depend upon those Notions.

Farther, upon the Grounds foremention'd, you must understand the Succession to the Crown to have been legally limited to the Protestant Line of the Royal Family, and settled upon the most Excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, Daughter of the most Excellent Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, Daughter of our late Sovereign King James the First, of happy Memory, and upon the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, in Default of Heirs of the Body of our late Most Gracious Queen A N N E. This is, according to our Constitution, a just and legal Settlement and Limitation of the Succession, having been Enacted by King, Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament. And you must observe, that the Hereditary Right of the Royal Family is not taken away, nor intended to be taken away, but is fully acknowledged, and duly regarded, in and by this Act of Limitation of the Succession. For as it settles the Succession upon a Line of the Royal Family, so it orders, That the Crown and Government shall from time to time hereafter, descend to, and be enjoy'd by such Person or Persons of the Royal Family only being Protestants, as should have enjoy'd the same, if the next in Blood being a Papist were actually dead. Here is a full

full Acknowledgment of the Hereditary Right in the Royal Family, in that the Succession, notwithstanding the Limitation of it is still yielded to the Royal Family, and not assign'd to any other Person or Family. This Faction then, you may be sure, have nothing yet of any Law on their Side, and, I hope in God, never will : And it is altogether and greatly desirable, that on the contrary they might have an effectual Check and Restraint from our Laws ; and that *a perpetual Brand and Mark of Infamy were set upon their rebellious, ungovernable Principles in Parliament*, to shew the Nation's just Abhorrence of them, and to the Honour of a Parliament of Great-Britain. This seems necessary to give our King a good and sure Confidence in the Loyalty of his People, and to prevent all Umbrage and Jealousy that may otherwise be conceiv'd of a Design, in any considerable Number of the Nation, to lessen the Authority of the Crown, to cramp the Supremacy, to render the Government precarious and weak, and depending upon the Humour of the People. This is necessary to render his Government over us easy and happy to himself, and effectual, glorious, and advantageous to his People. This must be thought necessary to secure the Succession to the Crown in his Majesty's Family, being Protestants, in which we have so hopeful a Prospect of succeeding Heirs, in having already a Son and Grandson to the King, with Probability enough of more of the Royal Issue. This seems necessary to engage, and oblige, and encourage him to stay among us, and take the Trouble of governing a People so much infected with ungovernable Principles. This, if we are not to the last Degree infatuated, and condemn'd not to know the Things that belong to our Peace, we shall do ; if for no other Reason, yet for this, That if our undutiful Behaviour, Seditions, Factions, and Disobedience should provoke him to forsake us as King James did (since he can go to an Hereditary Sovereignty, and an obedient People, and need not depend on any other Prince, as that unhappy King

King did) no demand Forelight could, in that Case, find any other Prospect of our Affairs, and consequent Condition, than that of Confusion and Ruin. We seem to have now in Hand the last Cast, by which we must win or lose all.

To save ourselves then in this important Juncture 'tis manifest and certain, the People must all take the greatest Care they can, that they do not choose any of the Men of these Principles, or those that have join'd and acted with them, into the important Service of advising about the making of our Laws. Let us, as we may with very great Reason, be ashame'd to choose such Men to represent us. Let us find out Men of truly Loyal Principles; who own and acknowledge an Hereditary Right, in the Royal Family, to the Crown and Government of these Kingdoms; who acknowledge the just Authority of the Crown and the Supremacy, as it has been anciently establish'd and acknowledg'd over all Persons, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal in these Realms, and who will wisely, and not factiously take Care of the Establish'd Religion and the just Rights and Liberties of their Fellow Subjects.

To conclude, I judge, and therefore recommend to you, and the Freeholders of our Country, as such, those worthy Persons whom the County honour'd with a great Majority of Votes in the last Election. To whom we are oblig'd by their Behavior in Parliament, and by their offering themselves again, as I am assur'd, to take the Trouble and Charge upon them thus to serve their Country.

FAREWELL.

From LONDON,

mid Octo. 5. 1714. I have add'd a small Epistle to this Letter, which I have seal'd up, & will send by a Person who I trust will be safe, & will be ready to receive it at the Post Office in London, as soon as possible after my return to Kinsale.

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